

Interviews: 1503 Respondents
 Dates: March 5-9, 1993

48 Male
52 Female
[5]

FINAL

Study #4037
NBC News/WSJ
March 1993

AR	TYPE	SA	FORM	DAT
[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]	[10]
[11]	[12]	[13]	[14]	

March 1993

Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Of the people living in your household who are at least 18 years old, including those who are not home right now, can you tell me who had the most recent birthday? (IF PERSON DOESN'T KNOW ALL THE BIRTHDAYS, SAY:) Well, of the ones you do know, who had the last birthday? May I speak to that person please? (IF PERSON WITH MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY IS NOT HOME, FIND OUT WHEN HE/SHE WILL RETURN AND MAKE AN APPOINTMENT TO CALL BACK.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS THE ONE WITH THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS NOT THE ONE TO HAVE THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, ASK TO SPEAK TO THE PERSON WHO DID. AFTER RESPONDENT COMES TO THE PHONE, SAY:)

Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Are you at least 18 years old and the person with the most recent birthday of all the adults living in this household? (IF "YES," SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

1. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district where you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Registered	7	[15
	9]
Not registered.....	2	
Not sure.....	1	
	-	

2. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>9/91</u>	
Right direction.....	43	47	45	15	34	[16]
Wrong track.....	35	27	32	71	48	
Mixed (VOL).....	11	14	11	9	13	
Not sure.....	11	12	12	5	5	

3. I'm going to read you the names of several people and institutions who are active in public affairs. I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so. **(READ EACH ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES. START FROM THE BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
The U.S. Congress							[17]
March 1993.....	3	22	24	28	17	6	
January 1993.....	4	20	27	28	16	5	
May 1992.....	2	16	20	31	27	4	
The Republican Party							[18]
March 1993.....	8	27	23	22	16	4	
Bill Clinton							[19]
March 1993.....	26	30	15	12	14	3	
January 1993.....	33	31	15	9	7	5	
December 1992.....	26	34	18	10	9	3	
May 1992.....	8	24	24	23	14	7	
Health insurance companies							[20]
March 1993.....	4	12	17	27	35	5	
Ross Perot							[21]
March 1993.....	16	31	25	13	11	4	
January 1993.....	16	26	24	16	14	4	
December 1992.....	13	22	27	18	15	5	
May 1992.....	12	20	25	7	6	30	
The Democratic Party							[22]
March 1993.....	15	32	20	18	12	3	
Pharmaceutical companies							[23]
March 1993.....	4	14	23	24	26	9	
Al Gore							[24]
March 1993.....	19	28	23	12	9	9	
January 1993.....	23	32	22	9	6	8	
December 1992.....	21	30	21	10	9	9	
Hillary Rodham Clinton							[25]
March 1993.....	25	29	18	11	12	5	
January 1993.....	27	30	21	8	8	6	
December 1992.....	21	25	25	8	11	10	

- 4a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing as president?

	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	
Approve.....	57	51	[26]
Disapprove.....	26	16	
Not sure.....	17	33	

(FORM A)

4b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling the economy?

Approve.....	5	[27]
	2	
Disapprove.....	2	
	8	
Not sure.....	2	
	0	

(FORM A)

4c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling our foreign policy?

Approve.....	4	[28]
	7	
Disapprove.....	2	
	2	
Not sure.....	3	
	1	

(BOTH FORMS)

5a. Do you believe that Hillary Rodham Clinton has the right amount of influence in the Clinton Administration, too much influence, or not enough influence in the Clinton Administration?

	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	
Right amount.....	46	50	[29]
Too much influence.....	38	35	
Not enough influence.....	7	6	
Not sure.....	9	9	

5b. Do you believe Hillary Rodham Clinton should or should not be involved in the development of major policy positions in the Clinton Administration?

	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	
Hillary Rodham Clinton should be involved.....	48	47	[30]
Hillary Rodham Clinton should not be involved.....	45	45	
Not sure.....	7	8	

(FORM B)

5c. Do you approve or disapprove of the selection of Hillary Rodham Clinton to head President Clinton's health care task force?

Approve of selection of Hillary Rodham Clinton	5	[31]
Disapprove of selection of Hillary Rodham Clinton.....	4	
Not sure.....	3	
	7	
	9	

(BOTH FORMS)

6. Now that the presidency and the Congress are both controlled by the same party, do you expect that Congress and the president will be able to work together to end the gridlock in Washington, or do you think things will be pretty much as they were before because Congress and the president always have differences?

	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	
President and Congress will be able to work together.....	47	61	[32]
Things will be pretty much as they were before.....	47	34	
Not sure.....	6	5	

- 7a. Let me read you a list of goals that have been proposed for the federal government to achieve. Please tell me which one of these goals you think should be the top priority for the federal government. **(READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.) [33]**

	Q.7a Top Priority	Q.7b. Next Top Priority	Combine d Priority	1/93 Combine d Priority
Reducing the federal budget deficit.....	32	20	52	53
Reducing the influence of lobbyists and special interests.....	8	10	18	17
Stimulating economic growth.....	23	17	40	41
Dealing with U.S. foreign policy issues and crises...	2	6	8	12
Reforming the health care system.....	17	27	44	42
Cutting taxes for the middle class.....	13	14	27	24
Other (VOL).....	1	SKIP	1	-
All equally (VOL).....	3	TO Q.8	3	4
None of these (VOL).....	-	-	-	-
Not sure.....	1	1	2	2
No top priority.....	NA	5	NA	NA

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO CHOSE A TOP PRIORITY IN Q.7a.)

- 7b. And which of these goals do you think should be the next top priority for the federal government to achieve? **(READ LIST AGAIN. RECORD UNDER COLUMN Q.7b. ABOVE.) [34]**

(ASK EVERYONE.)

8. Now, I'd like to read you a list of economic issues. As of right now, which one do you feel is the most important economic issue facing the country? **(READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.)**

	<u>3/9</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>9/91</u>	
Inflation.....	7	7	6	7	11	[35]
Unemployment.....	44	44	46	46	37	
Interest rates.....	2	2	3	2	3	
The federal budget deficit.....	28	28	24	22	21	
Federal taxes.....	7	5	5	5	7	
The U.S. trade deficit.....	8	8	10	8	8	
All equally important (VOL)....	3	5	5	8	10	
None is important (VOL).....	-	-	-	-	-	
Not sure.....	1	1	1	2	3	

(FORM B)

9. Thinking about the conditions facing Bill Clinton at the beginning of his term, do you think they are more difficult, about the same, or less difficult than those that faced George Bush at the beginning of his term as president?

	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u> *	
More difficult.....	57	55	[36]
About the same.....	28	34	
Less difficult.....	10	9	
Not sure.....	5	2	

(FORM A)

- 10a. During the next year, do you think the national economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>9/91</u>	
Will get better.....	39	50	53	32	31	[37]
Will get worse.....	15	9	10	20	24	
Will stay about the same.....	43	39	35	45	40	
Not sure.....	3	2	2	3	5	

(FORM B)

- 10b. If President Clinton's economic plan is passed, do you think the national economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same during the next year?

Will get better.....	3	[38]
	3	
Will get worse.....	2	
	2	
Will stay about the same.....	4	
	1	
Not sure.....	4	

(BOTH FORMS)

- 11a. Do you believe that it will or will not be necessary for Congress to raise taxes in the next year to reduce the budget deficit?

	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	
Tax increase will be necessary...	66	69	[39]
Tax increase will not be necessary.....	29	27	
Not sure.....	5	4	

- 11b. Do you believe that your own personal taxes will go up, or not? **(IF "YES," ASK:)** Do you think they will go up a lot or just a little?

	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>9/92*</u>	
Taxes will go up a lot.....	30	24	34	[40]
Taxes will go up a little.....	51	55	41	
Taxes will not go up.....	13	15	18	
Not sure.....	6	6	7	

12. Now I would like to read a brief description of Bill Clinton's economic plan, and a brief description of the plan the Republicans in Congress will most likely propose, and then ask which proposal you prefer. **(ROTATE ORDER OF STATEMENTS.)**

President Clinton's proposal increases the tax rate on upper-income Americans, creates a new tax on all forms of energy, cuts defense spending, reduces payments to hospitals and doctors, and increases spending on highways, worker training, and research and development.

The probable Republican proposal does not increase taxes on upper-income Americans, does not add a new energy tax, eliminates most of Clinton's proposals for increased federal spending, and makes deeper cuts in other domestic spending and benefit programs.

Which economic proposal do you prefer **(ROTATE)**--President Clinton's proposal or the probable Republican proposal?

President Clinton's proposal.....	6	[41]
	2	
Probable Republican proposal.....	3	
	0	
Not sure.....	8	

13. Now I would like to read some elements of President Clinton's economic plan. For each one I read, please tell me if you favor or oppose this part of the plan. **(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:) Do you favor or oppose (READ ITEM)?**

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>Sure</u>	
Increasing the corporate tax rate from thirty-four percent to thirty-six percent.....	65	29	6	[42]
Increasing the tax rate for families who earn more than one hundred forty thousand dollars annually from thirty-one percent to thirty-six percent.....	78	20	2	[43]
Imposing a tax on all forms of energy, including gasoline, heating oil, and natural gas.....	35	62	3	[44]
Increasing spending on the Head Start program, so it will be available to every child who is eligible.....	75	20	5	[45]
Increasing the taxes paid on Social Security benefits to couples who make more than thirty-two thousand dollars and individuals who make more than twenty-five thousand dollars.....	40	56	4	[46]
Adding a ten percent income tax surcharge on incomes over two hundred fifty thousand dollars.....	79	18	3	[47]
Increasing government spending on transportation and communications.....	42	50	8	[48]

(FORM B)

14. Here are some statements people have made about President Clinton's economic plan. For each one I mention, please tell me if you agree or disagree with that statement. **(READ EACH ITEM, AND ASK:) Do you agree or disagree with this statement?**

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>Sure</u>	
The plan will reduce unemployment.....	52	39	9	[49]
The plan will make the U.S. more competitive internationally.....	50	37	13	[50]
The plan will reduce the budget deficit.....	52	40	8	[51]
The plan will raise wages and living standards.....	38	55	7	[52]

(BOTH FORMS)

15. Do you believe that the economic situation in the U.S. requires government spending to stimulate the economy, or do you believe the economy will recover on its own without action by the federal government?

Government spending is required to stimulate economy	50	[53]
Economy will recover on its own without government action.....	40	
Not sure.....	10	

- 16a. Do you believe that the Republicans in Congress are interested in offering a realistic alternative to President Clinton's economic plan, or do you think they oppose Bill Clinton's plan for political reasons?

Republicans are interested in offering a realistic alternative.....	25	[54]
Republicans oppose Clinton's plan for political reasons....	62	
Republicans have not offered an alternative (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	11	

- 16b. Now, let me read some specific issues. When it comes to **(READ ITEM)**, which party do you think would do a better job--the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, neither, or would both do about the same? **(REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM LISTED BELOW. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS.)**

	Democrat c Party	Republica n Party	Neithe r	Bot h	Not Sur e	
Dealing with the economy						[55]
March 1993.....	34	18	11	34	3	
July 1992 *.....	26	18	18	35	3	
May 1992.....	29	23	17	26	5	
January 1992 *.....	28	23	12	33	4	
October 1991 *.....	27	28	14	26	5	
October 1990 *.....	31	30	13	21	5	
November 1989 *.....	26	40	10	18	6	
Reducing the federal deficit						
March 1993.....	39	16	18	23	4	[56]
April 1992 *.....	20	19	37	18	6	
October 1991 *.....	24	29	24	16	7	
October 1990 *.....	25	27	23	19	6	
November 1989 *.....	21	28	26	17	8	
Standing up to the special interests						
March 1993.....	36	13	23	20	8	[57]
Dealing with the problem of health care						
March 1993.....	57	9	12	17	5	[58]
April 1992 *.....	48	12	18	17	5	
October 1991 *.....	46	12	16	18	8	

(FORM A)

- 17a. Do you believe that Bill Clinton is a tax-and-spend, big government kind of Democrat, or is he a different kind of Democrat?

	<u>3/93</u>	<u>10/92</u> *	
Bill Clinton is a tax-and-spend, big government Democrat.....	29	35	[59]
Bill Clinton is a different kind of Democrat.....	60	56	
Not sure.....	11	9	

* Asked only of registered voters.

(BOTH FORMS)

- 17b. Now, I would like to read two statements about President Clinton's economic plan, and then ask you which statement comes closer to your point of view. **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

STATEMENT A: Bill Clinton's plan relies too heavily on tax increases and too little on spending cuts to bring down the budget deficit.

STATEMENT B: Bill Clinton's plan provides a good balance between cuts in spending and tax increases to bring down the budget deficit.

Statement A/relies too heavily on tax increases.....	50	[60]
Statement B/provides a good balance.....	43	
Some of both (VOL).....	2	
Neither (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	4	

- 17c. Do you think Bill Clinton's economic plan should be passed by Congress pretty much as is, or do you think Congress should make major changes to President Clinton's plan?

President Clinton's plan should be passed as is.....	39	[61]
Congress should make major changes to President Clinton's plan....	38	
Congress should make <u>minor</u> changes to President Clinton's plan (VOL).....	16	
Not sure.....	7	

(FORM A)

- 18a. I am going to read some proposals that have been made for spending cuts in the federal budget. For each one I read, please tell me whether you favor making **major** spending cuts, **minor** spending cuts, or no spending cuts in that area. **(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:)** Would you favor making **major** spending cuts, **minor** spending cuts, or no spending cuts in **(READ ITEM)?**

	<u>Major Cuts</u>	<u>Minor Cuts</u>	<u>No Cuts</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Farm subsidies.....	25	36	35	4	[62]
Veterans' benefits.....	5	31	61	3	[63]
Defense.....	36	44	18	2	[64]
Welfare assistance to families with dependent children.....	24	42	30	4	[65]
Science programs, such as the space station and the super collider.....	43	37	16	4	[66]

(FORM B)

- 18b. Some people think that in order to reduce the budget deficit, the government will have to limit the growth in entitlement programs, such as Social Security and Medicare. For each change in Social Security benefits I read, please tell me if you would favor or oppose that change as a means of reducing the budget deficit. **(READ EACH ITEM, AND ASK:)** Would you favor or oppose that change as a means of reducing the budget deficit? **(START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Freezing cost-of-living increases in Social Security for one year, which would save forty-nine billion dollars	53	44	3	[67]
Reducing cost-of-living increases for Social Security recipients who are above the poverty line, which would save nine billion dollars.....	50	45	5	[68]
Increasing the retirement age for Social Security benefits from	44	53	3	[69]

sixty-five to sixty-seven years of age by the year 2000, which
would save no money in the next five years, but would save
sixty billion dollars in twenty years.....

]

(FORM A)

19a. Do you think that Congress will pass or will fail to pass some type of major economic program this year?

Congress will pass major economic program.....	5	[70]
	1	
Congress will fail to pass major economic program.....	4	
	1	
Not sure.....	8	

Now, I would like to ask you a few questions about health care.

(FORM B)

19b. Do you think that Congress will pass or will fail to pass some type of major health care reform this year?

Congress will pass major health care reform.....	4	[71]
	0	
Congress will fail to pass major health care reform.....	5	
	3	
Not sure.....	7	

(BOTH FORMS)

20a. Do you think that, overall, the current health care system meets or does not meet the needs of most Americans?

Health care system meets the needs of most Americans.....	1	[72]
	9	
Health care system does not meet the needs of most Americans.....	7	
	8	
Not sure.....	3	

20b. Which of the following do you see as the most important health care issue at the present time:
(READ CHOICES SLOWLY. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

The <u>cost</u> of health care.....	48	[73]
People who are not covered by insurance.....	35	
The <u>quality</u> of health care.....	8	
All equally (VOL).....	8	
None of these (VOL).....	-	
Not sure.....	1	

(FORM B)

20c. Which one of the following six groups do you think is most responsible for the high cost of health care? **(READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)** **[74]**

	Q.20c Most Responsible	Q.20d. Next Most Responsible	Combined Responsible	6/91 * Combined Responsible
Doctors.....	21	26	47	43
Hospitals.....	14	19	33	29
Federal government.....	5	7	12	19
Patients.....	2	3	5	5
Lawyers.....	19	14	33	33
Health insurance companies.....	28	20	48	47
Other (VOL).....	1	-	1	-
All equally (VOL).....	8	-	8	7
None of these (VOL).....	-	-	-	-

**SKIP
TO
Q.21a**

Not sure.....	2	-	2	5
No group is most responsible.....	NA	11	NA	NA

(FORM B--ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO CHOSE A MOST RESPONSIBLE GROUP IN Q.20c.)
 20d. Which group do you think is next most responsible? **(READ LIST AGAIN. RECORD RESPONSE UNDER Q.20d ABOVE.) [75]**

* Asked only of registered voters.

(ASK EVERYONE--BOTH FORMS)

- 21a. I would like to ask you about your own experiences with the health care system. For each element of health care I read, please tell me whether you are satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied **(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:)** When it comes to **(READ ITEM)**, would you say you are satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied? **(START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Satisfie</u> <u>d</u>	Somewha t <u>Dissatisfie</u> <u>d</u>	Very <u>Dissatisfie</u> <u>d</u>	Not <u>Sur</u> <u>e</u>	
The quality of the health care you and your family receive	74	17	8	1	[76]
The cost of the coverage you receive.....	42	30	26	2	[77]
The <u>availability</u> of health care to you and your family.....	74	15	10	1	[78]
The ability of your insurance to cover you in the case of a catastrophic illness.....	53	21	16	10	[79]

- 21b. Have you ever considered leaving a job, but stayed because of the fear of losing health insurance?

Have stayed at a job for fear of losing insurance.....	3	[80]
	1	
Have not stayed at a job for fear of losing insurance.....	6	
	5	
Not sure.....	4	

(FORM A)

- 22a. I am going to read a list of benefits that might be included as part of a national health care system. For each one I read, please tell me whether you think this benefit should be included, even if it adds to your share of the cost of the program, or whether the national health care system should not be responsible for providing that benefit. **(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:)** Should **(READ ITEM)** be included or should the national health care system not be responsible for providing this benefit? **(START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Should</u> <u>Be</u> <u>Included</u>	<u>Should Not</u> <u>Be</u> <u>Included</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>Sure</u>	
Doctor's fees.....	75	21	4	[81]
Hospital costs.....	87	10	3	[82]
Nursing home care for the elderly...	80	16	4	[83]
Prescription medicines.....	75	22	3	[84]
Dental care.....	67	31	2	[85]
Vision care.....	68	30	2	[86]

(FORM B)

- 22b. If the U.S. government were to pass a program for health care reform, how might things be different for you, your family, and for the country? (PROBE:) What do you think would be the biggest advantages? What do you think would be the biggest disadvantages?

Net Advantages	68 %	Net Disadvantages	40%
Easier to get insurance, coverage for everyone	34	Cost will be too high, prices will skyrocket for the consumer	11

Control costs, make insurance affordable	27	Quality of health care will decline, will get even worse than it already is	8
Quality of health care will improve, better health care for everyone	7	Won't be able to choose own doctor, medical facility	6
Good for the country	4	Not interested, have good benefits	4
Benefits for the poor	4	Against government involvement in health care	3
<hr/>			<hr/>
Don't know, no response			12

(BOTH FORMS)

- 23a. Which of the following statements comes closer to your point of view? **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

Statement A: It will be possible to control health care costs and cover all Americans by making changes in the current health care system.

Statement B: It will not be possible to control health care costs and cover all Americans without a complete overhaul of our current health care system.

Statement A/changes to current health care system.....	22	[95]
Statement B/complete overhaul of current health care system.....	74	
Not sure.....	4	

(FORM B)

- 23b. Which of the following approaches do you think would be the better way to provide health coverage for all Americans? **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

Proposal A: Employers would be required to buy insurance for their workers, and the government would pay for the cost of coverage for the unemployed.

Proposal B: Individuals would be given tax credits and deductions to shop for and buy their own health insurance.

Proposal A/employers provide coverage.....	43	[96]
Proposal B/individuals given tax credits and deductions.....	48	
Neither (VOL).....	5	
Not sure.....	4	

(BOTH FORMS)

- 23c. Which of the following statements comes closer to your point of view? **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

Statement A: The health care system should provide whatever type of care is called for, regardless of the cost, age of the patient, or seriousness of the patient's illness.

Statement B: The health care system should not pay for costly procedures for terminally ill and elderly patients, in cases when it is likely that these procedures would prolong their lives for only a few days or weeks.

Statement A/provide whatever care is called for.....	53	[97]
Statement B/not pay for costly procedures..	40	
Not sure.....	7	

- 24a. Here are some statements people have made about America's health care system. For each one, please tell me if you agree or disagree with the statement. **(START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
A health care system of the future should continue to involve both the government and private insurance companies				[98]
March 1993.....	73	21	6	
I would be willing to pay higher taxes so that everyone can have health insurance				[99]
March 1993.....	66	30	4	
June 1991 *.....	47	48	4	
Everyone should pay some portion of their health care costs				[100]
March 1993.....	88	9	3	
June 1991 **.....	71	25	4	
Regardless of how the system is working overall, I personally get what I pay for when it comes to health care				[101]
March 1993.....	62	34	4	
All employers, even small business owners, should be required to provide health insurance for their workers				[102]
March 1993.....	63	33	4	
June 1991 ***.....	68	30	3	
It will be possible to provide health care coverage for all Americans without raising taxes				[103]
March 1993.....	29	67	4	

* The question was asked only of registered voters and read, "Would you be willing or not willing to pay an increase in taxes or higher medical insurance premiums to cover those who are not covered now?"

** The question was asked only of registered voters and read, "Please tell me if you favor or oppose the following: Require everyone to pay some share of their medical costs, such as doctor's visits, prescriptions, and hospital stays as an incentive for people to use the health care system less and thereby hold costs down."

*** The question was asked only of registered voters and read, "Do you think all employers, regardless of size, should or should not be required to provide health insurance for their employees?"

- 24b. Regardless of your own preference, which of the following statements comes closer to describing what you think a national health care system would entail? **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

Statement A: A national health care system would be controlled by the federal government, which would be responsible for providing health care coverage to all Americans.

Statement B: A national health care system would rely on public and private insurers, would be regulated by the federal government to control costs, and would guarantee at least a minimum level of health care for all Americans.

Statement A/controlled by federal government.....	23	[104]
Statement B/public and private insurers.....	70]
Some of both (VOL).....	2	
Neither (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	3	

- 25a. I would like to read some of the advantages and disadvantages that people have mentioned about a health care program that President Clinton may propose. **(ROTATE ORDER OF DESCRIPTIONS.)**

Three of the advantages are that 1) every American would have health coverage, 2) Americans would be able to keep their health care coverage, even if they lose or change their jobs or develop a serious illness, and 3) the overall cost to the economy and to the federal government would be less.

Three of the disadvantages are that 1) higher taxes would be required in order to make sure that everyone is covered, 2) the government would be more involved with the health care system than it is now, and would restrict how much doctors and hospitals can charge, and 3) patients would be limited in their choice of doctors and in the availability of some high-tech health care services.

With this information in mind, would you say that the advantages of this health care proposal outweigh the disadvantages, or do you believe that the disadvantages outweigh the advantages?

Advantages outweigh disadvantages.....	56	[105]
		1
Disadvantages outweigh advantages.....	33	
Some of both, advantages and disadvantages about equal (VOL).....	5	
Not sure.....	6	

- 25b. Now I am going to read some of the compromises that Americans may be asked to make as a part of guaranteeing health care coverage to all Americans at a reasonable cost. For each one I read, please tell me if this compromise would be totally acceptable, somewhat acceptable, somewhat unacceptable, or totally unacceptable. **(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:) Would (READ ITEM) be totally acceptable, somewhat acceptable, somewhat unacceptable, or totally unacceptable? (START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	Totally Accept- able	Somewha t Accept- able	Somewha t Unaccept- able	Totally Unaccept- able	Not Sure	
Limits on the right to choose your own doctor.....	22	30	17	31	-	[106]
Limits on damage awards for medical malpractice.....	44	32	10	11	3	[107]
More government involvement in the health care system.....	28	43	15	12	2	[108]
A two-dollar increase in the tax on a pack of cigarettes.....	57	13	7	21	2	[109]
Government limits on what doctors and hospitals can charge.....	59	28	6	6	1	[110]
A fifty-cent increase in the tax on a six-pack of beer.....	67	20	5	7	1	[111]
Higher insurance deductibles and co-payments.....	12	34	24	26	4	[112]
A one-dollar increase in the tax on a quart of liquor or wine.....	65	20	6	7	2	[113]
Limits on the availability of expensive high-tech health care services.....	15	36	22	21	6	[114]

Now, I would like to ask you about foreign policy.**(FORM A)**

26. President Clinton has said the U.S. would be willing to send some ground troops to Bosnia as part of a peacekeeping force if a peace agreement is reached between the warring factions. Do you favor or oppose using American ground troops in such an operation?

	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93+</u>	<u>12/92</u> +	<u>8/92+*</u>	<u>7/92+*</u>	
Favor.....	41	34	26	33	27	[96]
Oppose.....	51	54	62	54	65	
Not sure.....	8	12	12	13	8	

(FORM B)

27. President Clinton has proposed an increase in aid to Russia to stabilize Russia's democratic government, which he believes would promote world peace and America's long-term security interests. Opponents of this proposal believe that it is more important to use this money to pay for our needs at home. Do you favor or oppose this proposal to increase aid to Russia?

Favor.....	3	[116]
	3	
Oppose.....	6	
	2	
Not sure.....	5	

(BOTH FORMS)**Finally, one question on a different topic.**

28. Do you think the Clinton Administration should or should not allow distribution in the U.S. of RU-486, the European-made drug that induces abortion in the early stages of pregnancy?

Should allow RU-486.....	4	[117]
	6	
Should not allow RU-486.....	4	
	5	
Not sure.....	9	

FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

- F1. Did you happen to vote in the 1992 presidential election?

(IF "YES," ASK:) For whom did you vote--George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, or Ross Perot, the Independent?

Didn't vote.....	1	[118]
	9	
Voted for George Bush.....	2	
	6	
Voted for Bill Clinton.....	3	
	6	
Voted for Ross Perot.....	1	
	2	
Other candidate (VOL).....	-	
Too young (VOL).....	1	
Not sure/refused.....	6	

- F2. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or haven't you thought much about it?

Very liberal.....	6	[119]
Somewhat liberal.....	1	
	7	
Moderate.....	2	
	6	
Somewhat conservative.....	2	
	3	
Very conservative.....	9	
No thoughts.....	1	
	7	
Not sure.....	2	

- F3. And generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong Democrat/Republican or a not very strong Democrat/Republican? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN.")**

(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly Independent? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")**

Strong Democrat.....	1	[120]
	7	
Not strong Democrat.....	1	
	7	
Independent/lean Democrat.....	9	
Strictly Independent.....	1	
	7	
Independent/lean Republican.....	8	
Not strong Republican.....	1	
	3	
Strong Republican.....	1	
	1	
Other.....	5	
Refused.....	1	
Don't know/nothing.....	2	

- F4. What is the last grade you completed in school? **(DO NOT READ CHOICES.)**

Grade school.....	2	[121]
Some high school.....	1	
	0	
High school graduate.....	3	
	3	
Some college, no degree.....	1	
	5	
Vocational training, 2-year college.....	9	
4-year college/Bachelor's degree.....	1	
	8	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	3	
2-3 years postgraduate work, Master's degree.....	8	
Doctoral degree/law degree.....	2	
Not sure.....	-	

- F5. How old are you? (IF REFUSED, ASK:) Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18-24.....	1	45-49.....	9	[122]
	0			
25-29.....	1	50-54.....	6	
	1			
30-34.....	1	55-59.....	6	
	1			
35-39.....	1	60-64.....	6	
	2			
40-44.....	1	65 and over.....	18	
	1			
		Refused.....	-	

F6a. What type of work do you do?

Professional/manager.....	2	[123]
	3	
White collar worker.....	1	
	8	
Blue collar worker.....	2	
	3	
Farmer.....	1	
Student.....	3	
Homemaker.....	7	
Retired.....	2	
	1	
Unemployed.....	3	
Never worked/not sure.....	1	

(ASK OF ALL WOMEN)

F6b. Do you work outside the home or not?

Work outside the home.....	3	[124]
	1	
Do not work outside the home.....	2	
	0	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

F7a. Now I'd like to find out about your current health care coverage situation. Are you presently covered or not covered by health insurance? **(IF "COVERED," ASK:)** And is everyone in your immediate family living with you also covered by health insurance?

Covered By Health Insurance		CONTINUE	[125]
Respondent and everyone in immediate family.....	81		
Respondent, but not everyone in family.....	6		
Respondent, but not sure about family.....	-		
Not Covered By Health Insurance	12	SKIP TO Q.F8.	
Not Sure/Refused	1		

(ASK ALL RESPONDENTS WHO CURRENTLY HAVE HEALTH INSURANCE.)

F7b. Which one of the following statements best describes how your health insurance is paid for?
(READ CHOICES.)

You or a family member pays the full cost.....	1	[126]
	3	
You or a family member pays part, and an employer pays part.....	4	
	1	
An employer pays the full cost.....	1	
	5	
The government pays through Medicare or Medicaid.....	9	
Combination (VOL).....	8	
Not sure.....	1	
Not currently covered by health insurance.....	1	
	3	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

F8. In what religion were you brought up?

Protestant.....	5	[127]
	0	
Catholic.....	3	
	0	
Jewish.....	2	
Other.....	1	
	4	
None.....	3	

Not sure/refused..... 1

F9. Are you white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or something else?

White.....	79	[128]
Black.....	11	
Hispanic.....	6	
Asian.....	1	
Other.....	2	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F10. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	9	[129]
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	1	
	5	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	1	
	8	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	1	
	6	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	1	
	2	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	1	
	4	
More than \$75,000.....	1	
	1	
Not sure/refused.....	5	